

**CEPPS/IRI Quarterly Report: April 1 – June 30, 2005**  
**ANGOLA: STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES**  
**USAID Cooperative Agreement No. DGC-A-00-01-00004-00**  
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**Project Code: 8035**

## **I. SUMMARY**

IRI continued its work with various Angolan political parties in the second quarter of 2005. One significant development was the strengthening of IRI's relationship with Angola's ruling Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) through a number of trainings and high-level meetings. An equally significant development was the increasing success of IRI's provincial training programs. These programs included multi-party trainings on voter registration in Namibe, Huila, Zaire, and Malanje. In addition to work with the MPLA and the largest opposition party, UNITA, IRI's trainings this quarter have involved some half a dozen of the smaller parties in the national assembly.

## **II. BACKGROUND**

On April 4, 2005, Angolans marked the third anniversary of the cessation of hostilities and the return of peace to Angola, at the same time that the latest outbreak of the deadly Marburg virus began to reach its peak. Nationwide, preparations for voter registration began with large-scale drives to issue the necessary identity documents. Angola's Territory Administration Minister, Virgílio de Fontes Pereira, stressed the tremendous expenses anticipated for the election. These expenses would include the cost of improving infrastructure, including the repair or rebuilding of roads and bridges, state buildings in towns where there are no facilities for state administration, the clearance of minefields, and the provision of helicopters and other means of communications between the polling stations and the regional centers.

On April 20, the Angolan National Assembly adopted several laws from an electoral legislative package intended to form the foundations for national elections planned for the fall of 2006. However, the draft Electoral Law continued to pose problems; neither side in the National Assembly agreed on the central issue of who would actually run the elections. The electoral package languished, awaiting signature by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. In mid-June, the president asked the Supreme Court to rule on whether sections of the General Electoral Law were unconstitutional. As of the end of this reporting period, some Angolan political observers believed that this unexpected development may ultimately result in the postponement of the national elections. Others suspected that the move by dos Santos was a delaying tactic to give

the MPLA time to settle its own internal debates over the composition of the National Electoral Commission (CNE), a subject of some tension between the MPLA and UNITA.

### **III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

#### *Party Training – UNITA*

In mid-May, IRI conducted a two-day training seminar on voter registration with UNITA national leadership and delegates from nearly every province, with 55 people in attendance. IRI trainers led lectures and discussions on different aspects of voter registration. These meetings will form the basis of training workshops in the rest of the provinces, led by the newly trained delegates. UNITA held its national political conference in the second week of June. IRI did not participate directly in the program, but did provide copies of election materials and written guidelines for spot-checking voter registration lists for the party's internal use. UNITA also participated in IRI's Kwanza Sul, Huila, Zaire, Malanje and Namibe programs, described below, and met with an IRI representative in Kuando-Kubango to discuss future activities in the area. In mid-June, IRI received a last-minute invitation to do a two-day seminar with the UNITA national political committee. This seminar covered the process and strategy of voter registration. An introduction to the process of monitoring voter lists was also provided.

#### *Party Training – MPLA*

In the third week of May, IRI met with Angolan Secretary of Information Norberto dos Santos Kwata Kanawa, a Central Committee member and spokesman for the ruling MPLA party. The meeting focused on future programming opportunities with MPLA, especially regarding the following topics: communicating incumbent successes; voter registration; political party versus campaign planning principals; and external strategic communication. Kwata Kanawa was especially interested in IRI's next poll, described in Section VI below. IRI requested MPLA's input in designing the project, particularly if MPLA had any questions they would like incorporated into the poll.

MPLA party members attended IRI presentations in Zaire, Huila, Kwanza Sul, Namibe and Malanje, described below. IRI also met with the de facto First Secretary of MPLA in Kuando-Kubango, who expressed an interest in IRI program activities in that province. In mid-June, IRI held an all-day workshop with close to 100 members of the ruling party's youth wing, the JMPLA, in Huila. Participants came from many of this southern province's municipalities. The poll's youth data was presented with group exercises that reinforced how to think critically, analyze data, and use it. The last exercise included coming up with strategic plans based on newly introduced poll data. IRI also presented the Voter Registration Law and reviewed political party monitoring in this process. The First Secretary of the JMPLA is especially interested in this aspect of the law, since JMPLA will play a key role in this process. During the same trip, and at the request of the ruling party's Second Secretary, IRI held a workshop with the top forty members of the province's executive body. An IRI trainer presented issues related to the Voter Registration Law and political party monitoring. At the request of party delegates in Huila and Uige, as well as the Director of Organization and Mobilization, Alfredo Junior, IRI provided poll materials and copies of Onofre dos Santos' book to MPLA. These materials have been used for internal party training activities.

#### *Party Training – PRS*

IRI continued its frequent programming with the growing Social Renewal Party (PRS). This programming included two trainings in early April on voter registration and analyses of MPLA's proposal regarding voter registration laws. In mid-May, IRI hosted a voter registration seminar with PRS's national leadership and some of the party's national assembly delegates attending. Following this seminar, PRS planned to use IRI training materials as the basis of its inter-party voter registration development and training. Trainings with PRS later in the quarter pursued voter registration issues in greater detail, delving into strategies of how a party can best use its limited resources, design tactics on voter registration and monitoring, and design a complete voter registration plan. PRS also sent representatives to IRI's provincial trainings, including those in Huila, Kwanza Sul, Zaire, Malanje and Namibe, described below.

#### *Party Training – Other Parties*

In the first week of June, IRI met with the representative of youth electoral affairs for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), who has solicited IRI for comprehensive platform development, training the trainers sessions, and voter registration training. IRI has offered to conduct a national-level voter registration workshop, using our voter registration law and voter registration strategy presentations as a base for the workshops. FNLA also had representatives at IRI's Zaire, Kwanza Sul, Huila, Malanje and Namibe programs, described below. Other small opposition parties, the Liberal Democratic Party (PLD), the Front for Democracy (FPD), the Party for Democratic Progress – Angola National Alliance (PDP-ANA), and the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), all participated in IRI's Zaire, Huila, Namibe program. The PLD, PRD, PDP-ANA, and the Party of the Youth, Worker, and Peasant Alliance (Pajoca) participated in IRI's Malanje program. The PLD, PRD, and FPD participated in IRI's Kwanza Sul program.

#### *Provincial Trainings*

In the first week of April, IRI personnel traveled to Huila for a presentation of the results of IRI's previous poll, and for political party assessments. The poll presentation was attended by all of the parties with parliamentary seats. IRI returned to Huila in late June for a voter registration presentation. In the third week of April, IRI staff traveled to Sumbe, Kwanza Sul for a poll presentation and individual political party assessments. Representatives from MPLA, UNITA, PRS, PLD, FPD, and PRD attended the meetings.

In the first week of May, IRI traveled to M'banza Kongo in Zaire, presenting the poll results and offering IRI-published copies of Onofre dos Santos's book on the 1992 Angolan national elections. All the political parties with seats at the National Assembly were present. The poll stirred debates and a question and answer session that lasted almost two hours. This event was the first time that the parties had such information available to them, and was also the first time that all of the parties in this province were ever assembled in the same room. IRI also held private assessments and discussions with MPLA, UNITA, FNLA, PRS, PRD, PLD and PDP-ANA leaders. The upcoming voter registration and the recently approved electoral laws were topics of concern about which IRI was asked to elaborate and run a future workshop.

IRI provincial trainings continued in June, with multi-party presentations in the inland province of Malanje, and the coastal, southwestern province of Namibe. Presentations again included the results of IRI's previous poll, and discussions of the voter registration law and voter registration

strategies. The meeting in Namibe included representatives of MPLA, UNITA, PRS, FNLA, PLD, FPD, PDP-ANA, and PRD. The relationship among all of the parties in the province was cordial, and IRI led lively discussions regarding different aspects of the registration process. All of the parties asked IRI to return to the area more often. The meeting in Malanje, a predominantly MPLA province, also included all of the political parties, as well as the press and the province's Vice Governor, a high-ranking MPLA member. The Vice Governor actively participated throughout the presentation of the poll results, and gave some suggestions for the next poll. The session stimulated the Vice Governor into inviting all of the opposition parties to a meeting the following week. He and all of the parties invited IRI to come back for future programs.

#### **IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

*Objective: To increase political parties' engagement of key stakeholders, most notably women, citizens and civil society organizations.*

Distribution of the results of IRI's previous opinion poll is central to fulfilling this objective. In this reporting quarter, IRI has completed a number of trainings throughout Angola's provinces focusing on how political parties can use these poll results to develop a more effective voter outreach strategy. The high demand for information about these poll results indicates that IRI's forthcoming poll, described in Section VI below, will, by providing more timely information to the parties, be even more important for this outreach effort. IRI's meetings with the MPLA spokesman also focused on the best techniques for communicating to the citizenry.

*Objective: To enhance the organizational capacity of political parties in target areas.*

IRI has conducted private assessments with MPLA, UNITA, and most of the smaller parties as a first step towards further organizational capacity-building for each party. IRI's training with smaller parties such as PRS focused on techniques for improving party organizational capacity, and on techniques for ensuring that these parties use their limited capacities in the most effective and targeted fashion. IRI's planned trainer training sessions with the FNLA will also focus on growing that party's organizational capacity.

*Objective: To improve the ability of political activists to promote and participate in free, fair, peaceful, and credible elections.*

IRI considers its voter registration training to be a vital part of preparing for credible elections. IRI's trainings this quarter included presentation of guidelines for spot-checking voter registration lists, designing voter registration and monitoring strategies, and teaching the intricacies of the Voter Registration Law. Providing this training to all of the parties, often within the same joint training sessions, is a useful first step towards ensuring that political activists recognize the elements of free and fair elections.

*Objective: To reinforce the national reconciliation process and promote peaceful and constructive dialogue and conflict resolution.*

Assisting the national reconciliation process is one of the central goals of IRI's multi-party trainings. Providing the same training to representatives of each party in full view of the others soothes suspicions the parties have of each other and of international NGOs such as IRI. In some cases, IRI's multi-party trainings marked the first time provincial representatives from the different parties have met and participated in a joint activity. The positive feedback and active discussion following these trainings is an encouraging sign for IRI's role in Angola's national reconciliation process.

## **V. EVALUATION**

**Result 1:** Increased direct party engagement of key stakeholders, especially civil society, citizens and other political parties

As indicated in Section IV above, distribution of IRI's previous poll results has been an important mechanism for spurring party engagement of the Angolan citizenry. IRI's multi-party trainings have, in some cases, been the first opportunity for local party chapters to meet with one another in any capacity. Because of the recent focus on voter registration, IRI's trainings have not yet emphasized civil society organizations. IRI's ability to encourage meaningful party engagement of such key stakeholders will improve dramatically with the completion of the planned poll in the next quarter.

**Result 2:** Improved organizational capacity of political parties

Most of IRI's work on political party capacity has focused on voter registration issues, such as formulating registration plans to maximize voter outreach by the smaller parties. Equally as important is IRI's attention to provincial trainings, which redirects the focus of political parties from the capital and towards strengthening party structures at the grass-roots level.

**Result 3:** Greater information dissemination on electoral process and issues

IRI's trainings in this reporting period included workshops in four provinces, which marked the first time voter registration materials and polling results were disseminated in these areas. IRI workshops also included open debate on the electoral laws and on Angola's previous elections, a process spurred by continued distribution of the IRI-sponsored book on the subject.

**Result 4:** Greater participation of women in the electoral process

Nothing to report.

**Result 5:** Political parties commit to adhere to an agreed-upon code of conduct and to participate in established mechanisms for conflict prevention and management during the electoral process such that conflicts are peacefully addressed and resolved

The decision by President dos Santos to refer portions of the electoral legislation package to the Supreme Court cast the election timetable into doubt. One result of this development was the cancellation of a conflict mitigation workshop IRI and its partners had scheduled with the

political parties in Benguela for the last week of June. IRI anticipates returning to code of conduct and conflict prevention issues once the electoral timetable is secure.

## **VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES**

### *Nationwide Polling*

Given the great interest generated by IRI's polling presentations, we plan to conduct a new poll to address issues relevant to the 2006 national elections. In July 2005, we will be soliciting requests for proposals from numerous U.S. and African polling firms. IRI hopes to begin work with polling firms on the poll content in August, and prepare for the poll implementation itself in September.

### *Workplan and Communications Training*

IRI's training schedule in the upcoming quarter will follow the same pattern as that of this preceding quarter. IRI will continue its program of provincial trainings, and pursue a series of workplan development and communications skills training workshops with MPLA, UNITA, PRS, and others. IRI also hopes to begin workshops on political party funding.